2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

asserted that they traded with the races living in Eastern Siberia, and with the Kurile and Aleutian Islands and with Kamschatka. They also did much trade by barter with Matsumai. Chief Penri informed me that his ancestors traded with Manchuria. As proof of this he showed me a string of Manchurian cash, the brass bowl of a tobacco pipe, and some brass rings with which the Saghalien Ainu women decorated their belts.

The Ainu community had various methods of punishing offenders, which were regulated by the different misdemeanours committed and the dispositions of the judges and people. They never appear to have favoured the death penalty, since they considered death no punishment at all. Infliction of pain or disgrace only did they consider worthy of the name of punishment; and the more severe the pain the greater the punishment. Tying up with cords and beating was the most common method of punishing offenders, though this was superadded to other kinds in some cases. The mad were sometimes treated in this way.

For breaking into a granary a very sound beating was administered for the first offence, and this was a great disgrace. For the second, sometimes the tip of the nose or the lobes of the ears were cut off and the offender was driven out of the village and boycotted. For breaking the seventh commandment, it used to be the custom to impose fines, or to tie up the hands of the male offender behind his back and then hang him up by the hair of his head with his toes just touching the ground, and give him a whipping. The female was generally allowed to go free in disgrace, though sometimes she came in for a flogging. Single people were generally made to marry.

For murder it was customary to cut the tendons of the feet, thus maiming the culprit for life. The tendons were severed close to the heels. This was a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Such is the folklore given me on this matter by my friend, and from it we conclude that the willow is the special individual tree totem of every Ainu born in Hokkaidô. As might well be expected, this fetish is particularly worshipped in times of sickness, by the individual for whom it was made. The following is a prayer taught to children for their use on such an occasion:

"O thou willow god, as thou art my spine—my very backbone—do thou hasten to heal me and make me strong. O thou dear deity, I am ill, and my body has become weak; pray help me soon."

If this little prayer be said often and devoutly, it is supposed that the sufferer will soon recover from his malady. The auto-suggestion which is so necessary for a healing is thereby produced, and that is more than half the battle.

So, too, when an older person falls sick, the elders meet together and make fetishes of this tree for him. After these have been duly worshipped, they are taken out of doors and carried to the sacred place at the east end of the house and there set up among what are called the *sura*. These *sura* form a big cluster of fetishes, old and new. Some are but a few inches high and others six feet or even more in length. The length is got by tying them to poles which are called "lega." Among them may be seen the skulls of animals killed in hunting or for sacrifice. In Saghalien I once saw one or two round hoops set up on high among them, and was told that these represented offerings to the sun.

The magical influence of these things is supposed to be very great. It always struck me as being a very weird and mysterious custom to stick such things up and to consider them, both fetishes and place, as sacred. If, after being set up, any of the sticks strike root and grow, it is supposed to be a good sign. It shows that the person on whose behalf they were made

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778 will recover from sickness, become strong and have a
755 long life; and the more they flourish the happier the people are. The pleasure is indescribable if a fetish made for a baby happens to grow, for that means extraordinary good health, great strength and a long and prosperous life, or else that the child will become a mighty leader of the people or a wonderful hunter. One young fellow told me in later life that when young he used to keep his willow tree well watered so as to be always green, and that he himself might be ever in good health. He thoroughly believed in the efficacy of his "birth tree." But, I am sorry to say, he died
[115] at the age of about thirty. He was a good man and a great help to me in collecting folk-lore. Indeed, without him and Chief Penri and one or two others, I do not think these chapters could ever have been written. I have been very fortunate in my Ainu friends.

778 The fetish clusters spoken of above are only named *nusa* when taken as a whole; when spoken of singly, the wands are named *inau*. They are particularly striking when seen new in the winter or early spring, for then they glisten brightly in the sunshine over the snow. Some of them are shaved upward toward the top and others downward toward the base, while some again are not pilled at all. It all depends upon why they are set up and to what god or demon they are presented.

226 But it must not be supposed that the *nusa* are set up only near the houses in which the people live. A traveller may often see them upon the seashore where the fishermen push off their boats when they go fishing. These are set up to the gods of the sea and as offerings to various kinds of fish and marine animals.

177 The young man who gave me much of the fetish
778 lore I possess, and whom I mentioned as having watered his birth tree, was a most god-fearing fellow. He told me that he had never heard of a man among his people who had no gods to whom he prayed. When he him-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

115 that they had been taken by himself and were very precious talismans. He also gave me the following story.

539 825 "The white-tailed eagle was sent down from heaven. It is a bird of very quick hearing powers and makes no mistakes. And so when any hunter goes into the mountains and happens upon such small animals as foxes and hares, and at the same time observes one of these eagles hovering near, he should quickly say, 'Make haste, O divine eagle, and kill this animal for me.' It will then at once descend and strike the creature with its breast and kill it. Thus it comes to be known that this bird has good hearing powers. It is for this reason that fetishes are presented to it when it is killed. Then, if the skin and body are placed in the garden plots, hares will not dare to come and spoil the produce. Once more; the claws of this eagle are to be carefully put away. And the way they are used is this. If a snake should bite one's heel and cause pain, the claws of this bird should be bound over the wound and the following prayer be said:

755 758 [788] "'The divine White-tailed Eagle has come to help; O snake, hasten to heal this man.' So should the man say."

The eagle spoken of in the first legend is the *Aquila clagna, Poll.*, but the white-tailed eagle here spoken of is the *Halioetus albicilla, Linn.* The use of the claws as a cure for snake bite is very curious and it was a long time before I could make out the reason for the custom. At last I was told that, according to Ainu ideas, eagles are the enemies of snakes and catch and eat them. The claws are therefore placed over wounds given by these reptiles as a threat to the one who did the biting. This is said to frighten the snake into removing his poison! In the prayer he is informed by the sufferer

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and his friends that the eagle is after him, and so he quickly comes to heal up the mischief he has wrought. I find, too, that eagle claws are sometimes scraped and the powder given to sick people to drive out the demons of disease.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

actinidia and grape vines in Ainu-land. But there are no metal vines. All are of nice, lithe, living wood. By this my younger brother will see that there is great good to be got from wearing ear-rings of such vines."

"Ah," I replied, "I see what you mean. Have you any more old lore concerning the vine? Did your forefathers hand down anything besides what you have now told me about these vines? What did your grandparents say about them?"

"Yes, just so," replied he. "The Ancient Ones told us that we must be particular to make fetishes out of grape-vine stems when people become ill. These fetishes must be made with great reverence, and when formed set up by the fireside and worshipped. The prayer then said should be as follows:

"'O divine Grape-Vine fetishes, we call upon You now because this person is ill—sick nigh unto death. O Ye Grape-Vines, Ye had your origin in Heaven above and Ye did come down from the celestial regions in the beginning. Therefore we call upon You, for when a person is sick it is Your duty, O Ye Honored Ones, to succour him and make him well. In Heaven the soil is of metal and everything growing out of it, whether it be tree or grass, has spirit and life. When made into a medicine and taken, we have been taught that it is Your duty to give strength to those who become sick.' Thus prayed to, the man does worship by way of obeisance in humble attitude. After this some of the grape vine is taken and chopped up very fine. This is heated and then seethed well in hot water, and when cool enough given to the patient to swallow. The actinidia vine is taken in the same way." The poor old fellow told me all this with great reverence and I could see that he believed in it thoroughly and felt better for his clumsy vine ear-rings.

"But," I asked, "do you mean to say that in drinking the vine decoction, the chips of wood should be swallowed with the liquor?"

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

755 278 "Yes," he replied, "the vine must be cut up so fine that all may be swallowed."

I pass this on to the consideration of the foreign pharmaceutical body, and am certain that if only made strong enough and nasty enough, the Ainu would prize the decoction immensely.

In his "Origin of Civilization," Lubbock says," "The king of the Kousas Kaffirs, having broken off a piece of a stranded anchor, died soon after, upon which all the Kaffirs looked upon the anchor as alive, and saluted it respectfully whenever they passed near it."

If these had been Ainu, they would have presented it with fetish offerings as well, and sometimes drunk whisky before it. This is a clear instance of what is named "Sympathetic Magic," and is a species of it which I found running through Ainu religion and superstition in a very strong current. Another department of the same magic cult I found to be very well expressed in the matter of photography. The people did not like being photographed or sketched, and in these respects they were not unlike some other races. But curiously enough, after a year or two among them, neither men, women nor children made any objection when I myself wished to photograph them, or my wife to sketch them, for their eyes were being fast opened, so that they were "coming on."

114 784 Mr. Savage Landor was a very clever artist and made some fine sketches of the people, as his "Hairy Ainu" shows. He was so expert at this that one day old Penri asked me if he was not the very devil himself! But Mr. Landor was a wee bit venturesome at times, as well as indiscreet and inconsiderate. He got into a great scrape one day at Horobetsu, for he went to the seashore and began to sketch some more than half-naked Ainu fishermen who were working hard, dragging their nets and cleaning the fish they had taken. They made signs to him asking him to desist, and as he would not do so, they seized his sketch book

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

said that "if a snake should find anyone asleep out in the open, it would enter the sleeper's mouth and take up his abode within him and drive him out of his mind."

I have never yet been able to find out what snakes have to do with ague. Many years ago, however, I came across a case where the worship of a snake and its effigy was performed over a person for her cure. In this instance the patient was a woman and she was suffering badly. Her husband quietly went out one morning and made the form of a snake out of grass, and, after having done worship to it and the great father of snakes, stealthily slipped into the hut again, and then suddenly approached his wife and popped the creature into her bosom! This treatment caused the poor woman to scream with fright and straightway go off into hysterics. She was then marched off out of the hut, well sprinkled with fresh water, rubbed down with the effigy, and then beaten ceremoniously with a big bunch of artemisia. All this was by way of exorcism and purification.

But snakes are not only worshipped that good may come, but evil also. They are sometimes asked, even at the present day, to bite one's enemies. Thus a man once said to me. "When a person of a vindictive disposition has been harmed by an enemy, he will walk about till he comes across a snake or viper curled up by the side of a path. When he finds one he will stop before it and pray thus: 'O snake, I have a word to say to you; pray listen to me. I have an enemy named so-and-so. Take note of the name. Should you see him coming along this path, bite him, poison him, kill him. If you will do so, I will make fetishes of walnut wood for you and offer you many libations of *saké*.' Having said this, the worshipper salutes and then walks on. The snake will be mightily pleased with this and long for the fetishes and *saké*. And, should he see the person mentioned coming along that way, he will with-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XL

ON PATHOLOGY

One day, during my travels, I met an Ainu friend who was out hunting. When he learned that I was expecting to pass through his village and spend a day or two there, he asked me to carry a small parcel and hand it to his wife. On giving it to me he added, "Will you please take great care of it, for it is very precious." "Certainly, I will gladly take it along for you. But, what, may I ask, does it contain? What could you have found so precious out in these wild parts?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "it is the dried heart of an otter." "What a curious thing to send to your wife! Why do you wish her to have it? Is it for her to eat or how will she use it?" "Ah," he returned, "the heart of the river otter is a good medicine and is particularly powerful against stomach troubles." Then he added, "I have heard that a good deal of diarrhoea is prevailing among the villages of my district, and this should be used as a charm and antidote." "How should it be used?" I asked. He replied, "A small portion should be cut off and chopped up very fine and well boiled in a little water. When well cooked, the whole decoction should be swallowed. The effect of this medicine is marvellous, for the magic power is great. Not only does it work cures, but also prevents the demons of disease from coming near a person who has taken any of it."

Another friend, who seemed to be well up in Ainu ideas concerning pathology, said to me, "Various diseases attack the bodies of men and women. Such,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

167
753 for example, as ague and fever, heavy colds, stomach-ache, and prickings at the lungs (consumption).
●755 Now, when such complaints arise, the full-grown men should meet together and go to the villages up and down the rivers, and take from each hut a small portion of millet, fish, tobacco, skunk cabbage, and cow-parsnip. When they have secured these, they should bring them to an appointed place, where the men should sit down and pray. After the prayer they should carry all to the seashore, then reverently make fetishes and place them by their side. When this has been done, they should lift up their voices and say, 'O ye demons of the bays and harbours, have mercy upon us! O ye demons of disease, ye fearful beings, pay attention! We have with one accord met together and decided to enrich you with fetishes and various kinds of food. Do ye wait upon the demons who have afflicted us, and on our behalf entreat them to take their departure. We present these articles of food for your dinner, and the fetishes are paid as a fine. O all ye demon watchers over the harbours and bays, have the demons of disease taken away from our villages!' If this prayer be said and the ceremony performed, the sicknesses will speedily take their departure."

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755 While sitting with this man by his hearth, he volunteered the following lore. "When one has palpitation of the heart, it is a sign that he is about to hear bad news, such as news of a fire, serious sickness, or death. As soon, therefore, as the palpitation comes, he should at once rub the place six times and say, 'As I do not wish to hear any bad news, I now brush myself six times.' For this purpose he should take a small stick or piece of grass, break it into six pieces, and brush them carefully over the place." Again, "If the upper eyelid twitches, it is a sign that one is about to see something very interesting.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

If it is the lower one which twitches, it is to make known the fact that there is to be a wailing for the dead." And another friend added, "Yes, it is a person's good genius which makes known such things to him."

A third person then joined in and said, "Should any person have warts upon his hands or corns on his feet, he should rub them well with the cast-off skin of a snake. That drives them away quickly. The reason is that the name for 'wart' is *eremu-tampu*, i.e. 'rat sheath.' Rats are very much afraid of snakes, which catch and eat them. Therefore such things cannot abide snakes. The skins of snakes burnt into powder and rubbed well in are said to heal chaps quickly."

I found that the people used quite a large number of trees, shrubs, and herbs in treating the sick. Among such I found the feather-columbine, the common celandine, chickweed, actinidia, horse-chestnut, bird-cherry, spikeweed, mugwort, the flower shoot of the petasites, winter-cherry, wild parsnip, wild onion and others. In cases of stomach trouble, besides the river otter's heart, as mentioned above, soup made from the seeds of docks was considered very effectual. The dried seeds were beaten in a mortar, then well sifted and the flour boiled till it became something like pea soup, and, when cool enough, a cupful swallowed. For some complaints, a decoction made by steeping alder bark in cold water was administered. Another way was to stuff a pillow with convolvulus roots, for the sick one to lay his head on. Some such roots were chewed in order to produce expectoration. How the people could use so many remedies, and survive, I cannot understand!

For toothache, I know of one man who heated a nail very hot and held it on the offending member. This, he said, was to kill the demon insects which were

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

278 supposed to be the origin of the malady. For cuts, the
● 755 people chewed leaves and tied them over the wound.
164 Some would scrape deer's horn or the bristles of
252 whales, if procurable, into fine powder and put that upon the place. In cases where persons had been scratched or partly scalped by bears, the wound was first washed with fresh cold water, then the scalp was put as nearly as possible into its proper place and kept there by sewing with hair or very fine nettle fibre. The only man I ever met who had been thus treated had his scalp sewn on crookedly and his ear was all awry, and this gave him a very comical appearance. Powdered deer's horn or whale's bristles was put along the seams. If a person was accidentally shot by a poisoned arrow, the spot touched by the poison was either sucked or cut out, then washed, and horn powder put on the wound. Broken legs and arms were set as well as possible and bound up in rough splints.

825 One day, as we were passing along by the seashore,
753 a great number of small birds arose out of the grass close to us. The man who was with me told me that these were called *pa-koro-chikap-po*, and this means 'little bird demons of disease.' The following is what he said about them.

"During the early spring, little birds with grey coloured feathers and a patch of red on the tops of their heads come and settle near the seashore. If a person should kill one of them, many evil diseases would at once attack the villages round about, so one ought not even to pretend to cast a stick or stone at them, call them names, or even say so much as one word to them. He should turn his face away and pretend not to see them."

755 When a person first becomes ill, friends generally
757 make him lie by the fireside upon his mattress, for *Huchi*, the goddess of fire, is said to have a special care for such. The people also have cords suspended from

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the rafters over the patient, so that he or she may lay hold of them when they wish, and by clinging to them raise themselves up to a sitting position. I have frequently seen the women performing what they call *nitata* on sick people as they recline or sit. This is a process in which several women kneel or sit round the patients and treat them by massage. It is a very rough process and sometimes amounts to a thorough kneading and pummelling of the entire person with the hands and fists. At other times, when one is very ill indeed, the *nitata* consists chiefly in holding the body tightly, so as to try and prevent the soul from escaping. This is the women's part. As for the men, they sit round the fire, where they make fetishes and do worship.

In working cures, water is thought to be of great efficacy, and is often used. When persons faint, for example, or are at the point of death, water is freely blown over them from the mouth, or sprinkled over them with bunches of spray-wood or grass. A young man of my acquaintance fell from his horse one day, and was left upon the path in a state of unconsciousness. As the event proved, he had three ribs broken. In order to restore him to consciousness, water was applied. I was informed by the lad's uncle that before he came to, three large tubs of water were poured over and sprinkled on him. Poor lad, the wonder was that he did not die of kindness!

When a person desired to know the reason of his malady, he sent and fetched a shaman to come and explain it. This is not merely an echo of the past, for it is sometimes practised at the present day. One day when I went into a hut to visit a sick woman, I found some women not only blowing water over her and holding her body tightly, but others also very busy turning out the water tubs and pots, while some were holding lights and others sweeping the floor.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

means 'the doctrine of preservation by trees.' The man who gave me much of the information contained below, when speaking of this, said,

"When those hunters who are acquainted with the cult of the mountains are about to start on a hunting expedition, they first, after having worshipped at the fetish cluster, go and select a large tree and worship its spirit, saying, 'O Thou mighty possessor of the soil, we have come to kill animals. Please help us. O see that we meet with no accidents, and prosper Thou us.' After this has been done they set out, fully expecting to kill many bears and deer."

This is tree worship in its baldest form, and we see by it that the hunters regard the tree for the time being as their tutelary god or guardian genius. I find, also, that when a person is sick, his friend will sometimes go to the forest and select what he considers to be a good tree or shrub and worship it. He fully believes that if he does this devoutly and in faith, the tree genius will work a cure. Some of the so-called good trees, i.e. trees willing to help, are the willow, dogwood, oak, spruce, spindle tree, prunus, hornbeam, black alder, lilac, birch, magnolia, yew, ash, cercidiphyllum, azalea, chestnut, mulberry, and a few others.

When praying to any of these for the sick, prayers such as the following are said; 'O *Topochi*, thou divine wise and quick one, make haste and heal this sick person. Thou art the child of *Shirampa*, the divine one standing upon the earth, and thou wast sent down from heaven in the beginning. Thou art the great and chief tree god. I know thy name and the name of thy father. Thou art the wise one and art very quick. Thou art also a mediator. In thy father's name, O wise one, yea, in the name of *Shirampa*, I ask Thee to heal him quickly." My friend added,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Yoshitsune's temper was roused, and he cut the *nipesh*[1] rope to which the harpoon was fastened. The fish went to die at the mouth of the Saru River, when plains of hemp sprouted out of its body.

Another legend, called "Kimta-na," is a rather different and more simple version of Tushi-une-pan's story which I have just related.

Yet another variant of the same legend is found in the "Inu-sapk"—or "A Summer Story" (literally translated: *Inu*, hear, relate; *sapk*, summer), which was so very confused that I could not make head or tail of its minuter details; but, like the "Kimta-na," it was about a famine in the Ainu land.

Then there was a fourth, which went by the name of "Abeten-rui"—"Burning to embrace," or love-sick. It was again about Yoshitsune, who had fallen in love with a pretty Ainu maid, and could not eat either good or bad fish until she appeared to him in a dream. As Yoshitsune was a strong-minded man he got over his love, and taught the Ainu not to be deceived by woman's wiles.

These and other similar legends, some of which do not bear repeating, being too improper, can be collected at Piratori or on Volcano Bay from the half-civilised Ainu; but I am inclined to think that they are mostly concoctions of Japanese ideas construed or misconstrued in the Ainu language.

Ainu do not indulge in poetic compositions which have a definite metre, nor do they use special words for rhyme or rhythm; but all the words in their songs are intelligible, and seldom meaningless syllables are used, as in many of the chants of other savage nations. This of course is because, as has been said, their songs are merely a form of conversation adopted on certain occasions.

Some of their music seems to have been suggested to them by such animal sounds as the plaintive howling of bears, wolves, and dogs.

Music is believed by the Ainu to have the power of curing illness, or rather, of scaring away from the body those evil spirits which are supposed to have taken possession of it; but, when used as exorcism, the music is no longer grave, slow,

[1] *Nipesh*: a kind of hemp.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

533 and sentimental, but verily diabolical, consisting mainly of
755 wild howling with an accompaniment of stamping feet and the rattling of sword and knife, and followed by a disgusting expectoration of chewed convolvulus roots, which are said to be powerful in expelling the evil spirit and restoring the sick person to health.

461 Furthermore, music is invariably used by the Ainu—
533 especially by the women—to facilitate manual labour, as when pounding millet, rowing, pulling canoes on shore, or drawing water from a well, when packing sea-weed, or when preparing salmon for the winter; and also in their games, which I have already described in the chapter on the festival at Piratori.

461 During the process of pounding millet—which is only prac-
490 tised in the southern part of Yezo—two or three girls stand
533 round a mortar in which the millet has been placed, and each girl, holding with both hands a pestle, beats and sings, one after the other, the words "*Huye, huye,*" as the pestle is let down, increasing in loudness when the grain requires harder pounding, and slowly decreasing in volume towards the end. This pounding begins about sunset, and the place chosen for the operation is generally the small porch of the huts. It has indeed a weird effect to hear these many voices from the distant huts gradually dying away as darkness comes on, till finally only two or three break the stillness of the coming night. Then even those wear away, and everything becomes as silent as the grave.

461 When riding on horseback, especially if alone, young men
490 are fond of singing, and when going through forests, chopping
533 and collecting firewood, Ainu invariably sing.

I have often heard two or three Ainu, when packing sea-weed within a few yards of one another, each singing to himself, and each so much absorbed in his own composition as not to even hear his neighbours. An Ainu does not and cannot sing unless he feels in the mood for it; but if he sings he is carried away by his own music. Of course this is a good quality in Ainu music, as in all arts where "feeling" is to be appreciated as much as execution. The latter is to be got by constant practice and teaching; but the first has to be born in one.

123 My readers must forgive me if I am judging Ainu music,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

sizes and shapes impressed me as being mostly for ornament. Then some are held as charms against misfortune and disease; but they never impressed me as being offerings to the gods. *Inao* are placed near springs, so that the good water may not turn into pestilential, and occasionally *inao* of a peculiar shape are hung in the doorway of newly-built huts. They are made of a number of small willow sticks tied together, from which hang five or six bunches of shavings; they are hung horizontally, and not in a vertical position, like the other *inao*. They are very uncommon, and only used on certain specified occasions. For example, when a child is born an *inao*, in the shape of a doll, is made of a bunch of reeds folded double and tied with a string about an inch from the bend, which thus forms the head; it is then tied lower down to indicate the waist. By dividing the reeds into two equal portions they produce a pair of legs, and a stick is then passed through the reeds between the head and the waist to form the arms. When this doll is made it is placed near the infant, so that should any disease or misfortune, in the shape of a kind of evil spirit, be tempted to enter the child's body, it may be averted, and enter the doll instead. Should a person fall ill new *inao* are stuck in the hearth, as the Ainu share our own idea that evil spirits dwell mostly in fire; others are placed near the sick person. They are not meant as offerings to the gods for his or her quick recovery, but merely to bring good luck to the individual whose body they think has been taken possession of by "animals inside," or, in other words, evil spirits.

Even at the present day in England and on the Continent horseshoes for luck are hung over entrance doors, and if a horseshoe be fastened on to a stable-door, the beasts within are supposed to be held free from accidents and illness.

In Spain and Italy little red rags tied to a small wand, not dissimilar in shape to a small Ainu *inao*, are stuck in flower-pots near windows, over beds, doors, and up chimneys, to keep witches at bay, red being a powerful exorcist in the way of colours, and as good as the "running stream which witches dare not cross." Some hysterical women have declared that they have seen witches hiding in the smoke of the boiling *Pentola* (the earthenware pot in which the soup is boiled)—but that on seeing the red rags they vanished, and never

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[53]

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

[Facing P. 427]

1 2 3 4 5

INAU OF THE AINU, SAGHALIN.

1, Inau without notches, for the ancestors; 2, Inau with four notches, for the master of the mountains and forests; 3, Inau with three notches and ear-rings, for the master of the sun and the mistress of the hearth; 4, Curative inau with three notches, attached to a bow amulet; 5, Curative apron with plaited shavings appliquéed in the shape of magic coils and strings.

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778
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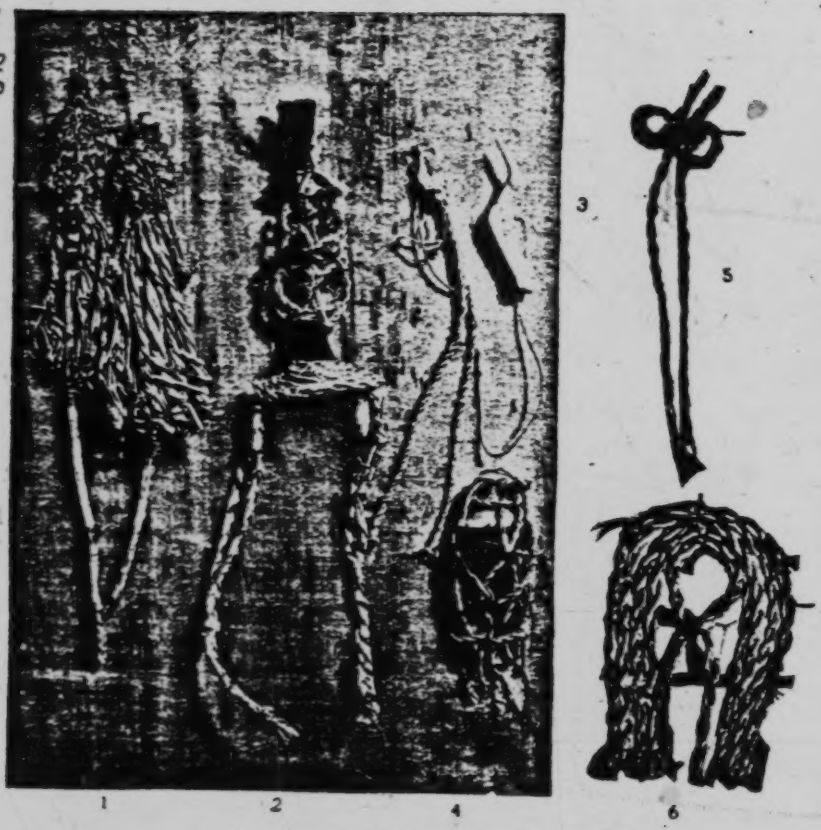

INAU OF THE AINU, SAGHALIN.

1, Inau on the top of the tree to which the bear is bound at the bear festival; 2, Inau for the bear's head; 3, Curative inau attached to the wooden figure of a cuckoo; 4, Figure of a bear bound with strings; 5, Curative inau in the form of a necklace; 6, Inau in the form of an ear-protector for the bear.

[Facing P. 428]

5:Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 [191] the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

778 755 789 On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness. The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles [532] (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of [291] [301] shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.

It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial 796 of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned 825 the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for 291 the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the 301 bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads 789 of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea, are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The *ekashi inau*[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*, his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting. The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut

[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

THE INAU

778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*, and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
[755] a cuplike mouth, its name, *kinashut kamui inau*, implies ancestral associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven *inau*, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most,
[776] which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1] He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called *shian* (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
787 Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
184 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
[782] answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
789 was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
[114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei noibe*). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB8

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value.

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection.

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition.

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head.

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IV

EFFIGIES

778 [774] [789] [782] IN the preceding chapter we described the objects called *inau*, by means of which *ramat* is retained in more or less concentrated form, which are regarded as affording protection against evil spirits and which serve as offerings to all helpful *kamui* and messengers to important ones.

[755] The faith formerly reposed in the *inau* was not without benefit. Hope was sustained in times of trouble and danger, and sickness was alleviated and even cured. This faith has not entirely ceased [182] to exist. Where, as at Nibutani, the Ainu still retain some of their communal solidarity, many adhere to their ancient creed and its methods of defence against evil spirits.

778 776 532 [774] We have now to consider the methods of promoting some *inau* to the rank of *kamui*, in which *ramat* is so concentrated that it acts dynamically, though always with the approval and usually under the command of the higher *kamui*. Although we shall meet with a few effigies in other than *inau* shape it is significant that most of the hand-made representations of *kamui* closely resemble the winged *inau*. This fact is consonant with their interpretation as effigies reduced to little more than emblems.

These objects are sometimes called 'hand-made' (*tek-e-kara*) *kamui*, but should not be referred to in this way. The correct terms are *Ainu-monka-enupuru kamui*, which may mean 'mysteriously made without blemish', or 'besought' (*chiniuk*) *kamui*. The first to be described is so superior to all others in holiness and general authority that in this region it is esteemed as an 'important' (*pase*) *kamui*. This is Chisei-koro Kamui, House-possessing

EFFIGIES

778 776 782 796 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven *inau* between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*. The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used [273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the *kamui* might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

● [755] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the [761] *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allowance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*. [763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a case full honours were accorded.

778 776 532 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII, fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mugwort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked except in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Success (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for success in hunting and fishing.

The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material [824] used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*) the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

EFFIGIES

inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikafuye) Kamui. It is still sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV, fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one of willow be insufficient.

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other *shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui* on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway deities are thanked, and Kamui Fuchi is again asked for help. Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If Ramat-tak Kamui is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; Kamui Fuchi is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of Nusa-koro Kamui and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

Ai-ush-ni Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight, is Pauchi Kamui, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Known as Ika-kik (Driving-out-evil) Kamui, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil Pauchi away.

The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to involve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inadvertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifunarep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. Together they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance. Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

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HEARTH AND HOME

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

422 411 [531] [789] [755]

422 789 [777]

Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

[773] [532]

353 342 [513] [264]

No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*kembe*).

342 574

Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements.

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity.

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth.

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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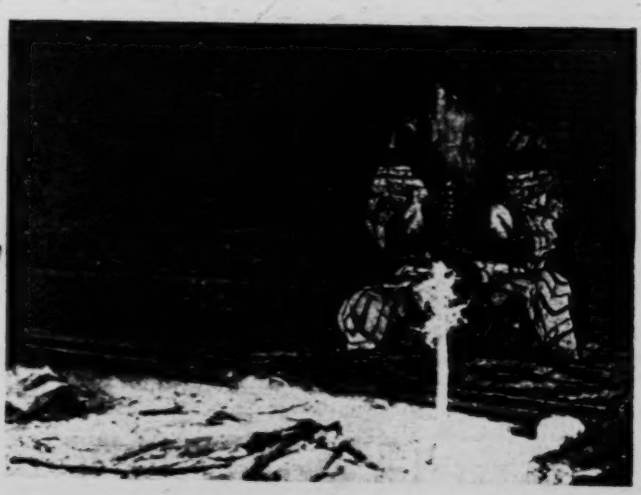

[133]

Fig. 1. The *ekashi* makes a preliminary prayer to Kamui Fuchi.
Fig. 2. At the river bank, the *ekashi* calls on the good *kamui* of the home to fight against the evil *kamui*.
Fig. 3. The *ekashi* invoking Mintushi Kamui (a water spirit).

PLATE XVII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (A)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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Fig. 1. The first 'house of evil' is raised.

Fig. 2. The 'house of evil' is lighted and patient passes through the burning arch.

PLATE XVIII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (B)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays to Mintara-koro Kamui before exorcism rites.

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[302]
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[531]

Fig. 2. *Ekashi* invokes Ru-koro Kamui (*kamui* of the privy) before exorcism rites.

PLATE XIX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78 (c)]

[p. 78 (01)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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1.

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Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays at second tree. Fig. 2. Patient at third tree. Fig. 3. Patient is stroked with millet heads at the privy. Fig. 4. Patient is beaten with switches at the privy.

PLATE XX. EXORCISM RITES.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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Fig. 1. An *inu* woman diagnoses the spirit responsible for patient's trouble. Fig. 2. *Inu* woman in a trance state. Fig. 3. *Ekashi* treats a patient possessed by an evil snake with the image of Kinashut Kamui at the *nusa* set up for him. Fig. 4. *Ekashi* treats patient possessed by a hornet.

PLATE XXI. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (E)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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Fig. 1. Purification of patient by beating at the river bank.

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Fig. 2. Thumping the wooden mortar so that its spirit may relieve woman in difficult labour.

PLATE XXII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (F)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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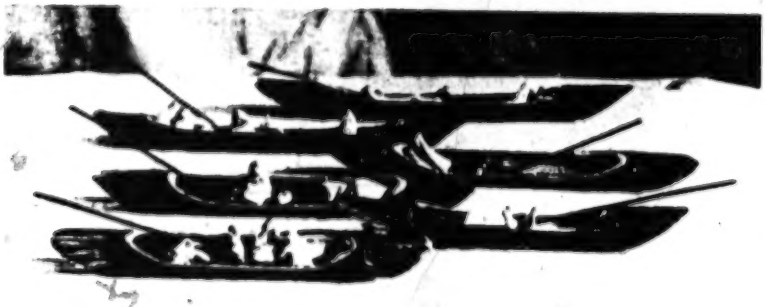

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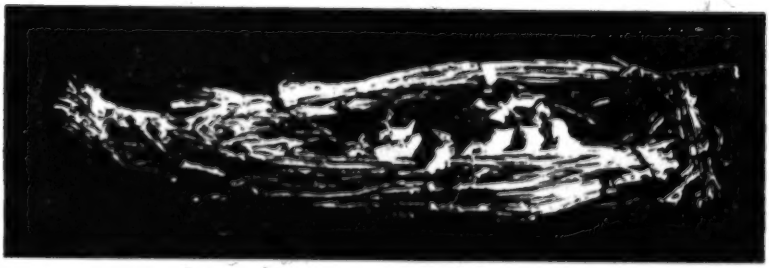

Fig. 1. Treatment for phthisis at tree.
Fig. 2. Boats to be floated down-stream, into which the patient has spat.
Fig. 3. Straw boat loaded with provisions, to induce Pakoro Kamui to depart.

PLATE XXIII. EXORCISM RITES: TREATMENT FOR PHTHISIS.

[p. 78 (G)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

IX

EXORCISM

(*UEPOTARA*)

THE various classes of ***kamui*** were described in Chapters I and II, and it was noted that though the 'important' (*pase*) ***kamui*** are generally beneficent, yet they are apt to resent disrespect or neglect of offerings. Reverence is necessary in soliciting their help; and accident, disease or other misfortune may befall those who neglect them, or who neglect a custom or infringe a taboo. Thus, serious illness is usually attributed to the action of some ***kamui***, or to possession by evil spirits, when the victim becomes 'tied up'.

When there is ordinary sickness the Ainu have a choice of many herbs, some reputed to heal particular diseases and a few magically efficacious against several. But where there is serious illness, whether of mind or body, the older folk are quick to suspect the action of a cantankerous or malignant spirit.[1] Purification is necessary for the expulsion of such spirits, or their influence, from humans, places or things. ***Epiru***, the general word for purification, is not used for human beings; for them ***ukakik*** (striking upon) or ***hashikik*** (striking from above downwards) are the words in general use; these terms are never used for places or things.

[1] The causes of disease were believed to be as follows:
(*a*) The work of an evil deity (***wen kamui***) or a stubborn deity (***nitne kamui***).
(*b*) The influence of the evil spirits of sterile women (whether living or dead was not ascertained).
(*c*) Retribution for the sinful acts of ancestors.
(*d*) The action of symbiotic worms in the abdomen.
(*e*) The result of curses by someone with a grudge against the sufferer.
(*f*) Possession by some spirit.—H.W.

EXORCISM

755 Here we are chiefly concerned with proceedings intended to repel or expel evil spirits threatening or inflicting serious maladies. In the case of difficult childbirth or any grave malady members of the village throng the dwelling, the elders busy with magico-religious expedients, while all express sympathy with the sufferers. [789] [822] I am told that in desperate cases old and reeking garments are waved to drive away evil spirits, and that the accumulated *Ainu rak*, the odour of the unwashed, helps to repel them.

796 789 731 535 A public manifestation of sympathy and helpfulness, *ukaobiuki*, characteristic of the Ainu, is a dancing procession called *niwen-horipa*. When there is some untoward or tragic happening such as a death by accident or the burning of a house, the important *kamui* are invoked and a procession is formed and moves towards the spot, the men in front carrying swords, the women walking behind. At each step the men alternately stretch and bend the arm, holding the sword vertically, and call out 'wo-o-o pfui!' The women also stretch the right arm forward and bend it, exclaiming 'fusa!' The sufferers await the procession, and when it arrives at the place of the affliction it is usual to march round it three times, the men striking out with their swords. Then a double line is formed with the sufferers in one rank and sympathetic visitors in another, and the procession moves up to a small *nusa* where short prayers are said. The sufferers are then cleared of any evil influence that may remain, by being stroked from above downwards with the swords. Individual greetings and condolences are then said. Although the *niwen horipa* is fading out in the north where the Ainu population is sparse, in the south groups of Ainu often come many miles to take part in the ceremony and sympathize with the sufferers.

755 The word *uepotara*, which I have rendered 'exorcism', but which according to Batchelor implies 'solicitude', is applied in practice to a combination of measures used in the treatment of the sick. In the first example to be given a whole battery is brought to bear upon [115] the patient. I was first told of it by Kotanpira Ekashi, perhaps my best informant, but I saw it in 1933 and again about a year later. [114] The account given of this, and the following example, is recorded from the method employed by Isonoash Ekashi, who, though less learned, is well accustomed to these rituals. His prayers and invocations are less classical than those of my other informants, but those I have translated have been approved by independent Ainu to whom I recited them.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EXORCISM

The preliminary service at the house is much the same for all *uepotara*, the chief difference being in the name of the evil spirit to be overcome. In the one I shall describe it was Pauchi Kamui, who is usually held responsible for insanity or violent hysteria. He is notorious as the instigator of epidemics of frenzied dancing. The account of a serious outbreak of dancing mania,[1] which occurred about two centuries ago, was related to me by several elders, as it had been passed down to them by their ancestors.

As in all ceremonies, Kamui Fuchi is first approached; she is told of the trouble and her help is besought. Next, Mintara-koro Kamui and Ru-koro Kamui, the spirits of the yard and the privy, are invoked, as well as Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, at their respective *nusa*. Then elaborate preparations are made by the river: first, a backward-shaven *inau* is inserted for Mintuchi Kamui, a freshwater nymph, and upstream from it six groups of four-winged *inau* are set up in the water at the river's edge. These are made of alder and are about eight inches high. The *inau* furthest upstream, the chief, is taller than the others, and has some distinguishing mark, sometimes a piece of wood tied to it to represent a sword, in this case a piece of cloth. They are called evil *inau* because they repel evil, or abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. These *inau* are made of elder and only have four wings, in distinction to other winged *inau*, which may have from six to nine. They are set at an angle so that they point towards the river. The next *inau* upstream from the chief is a backward-shaven one for Chiu ra-pe Mat, the female spirit of the undercurrent. Then comes the *nusa* of the three great Ainu *kamui*; its winged *inau* are made of willow. At the lower end of this *nusa* a sword is hung for the officiating *ekashi*; it is said to act as a messenger from Kamui Fuchi. At the upper end there is a backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Guru, the male spirit of the undercurrent. Six Houses of Evil are set up at short intervals, in a line, at a right angle to the river's edge. These are reed arches, about four feet high, with some hollow-stemmed *Polygonum sachalinensis* (*kuttara*) tied to the apex. Hollow stems of this plant are also used as traps to catch ghosts and spirits of pestilence; small boats are made of them to provide spirits with a means of return to their abode after they have been invoked in a rite. Here they serve as an exit for Pauchi Kamui when the arches are set on fire. On either side of

[1] See Appendix, p. 160.

EXORCISM

each arch a *takusa* (a bunch of grass, reeds and other herbs, suitable for *ukakik*) is laid. Two similar bunches are put beside each of the groups of *inau* along the riverside. Beside the *nusa* for the *pase kamui* two *takusa* are laid, made of an evergreen bamboo called *huttat*. All these are switches which will be used to purify the patient. Six water-worn stones are put near the backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Mat.

The ritual is a combination of prayer and of purification by fire, by brushing and stroking with switches of grasses or herbs, with river stones and with a sword, and by lustration with water. Insane persons, considered incurable, used to be dipped in the river, as I learn from elders who have tried this form of purification. Psychological troubles brought on by Pauchi Kamui are regarded as difficult to cure. When a female medium (*tusu*) possessed (*ituren*) by her familiar spirit pronounces Pauchi Kamui to be the evil spirit responsible for the disorder, a stiff fight is expected, and all resources are employed.

When the preparations are complete, the proceedings do not take long. After salutation and prayer to the water nymph, Mintuchi Kamui, the *ekashi* addresses the female spirit of the undercurrent in the same way, and afterwards the male spirit of the undercurrent. Salutations and prayers are made to all the *kamui* at their respective places, described above, and also to the chief of the 'evil' *inau*. The first arch, furthest away from the river, is set on fire, and the patient passes under it. When she has done so she is beaten six times by two women who strike her with switches of strong grass or some other herb such as *shinkep* (*Lespedeza bicolor*). This is repeated at the five other arches. At each stroke the women call softly *'fusa!'* or *'fsa!'* as a signal of expulsion.

The patient then undergoes further purification at each of the six groups of *inau* along the riverside. Two women each pick up a switch, dip it in the river, beat the patient and afterwards throw the switches in the river to carry away the contagion.

In the next procedure, which is used as a means of getting rid of ailments, especially defects of vision, the patient stands beside the backward-shaven *inau* of the female spirit of the undercurrent (Chiu ra-pe Mat). The two women take a stone in each hand and strike them together to warn the evil spirits that the spirit of the waters is about to act. The patient is stroked with the stones by

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AB6 Ainu AB6

the two women down the sides and front. There being six stones, one of the women takes the last two and repeats the process. The stones are then thrown into the river.

The next rite at the riverside takes place by the *nusa* of the *pase kamui* and the backward-shaven *inau* of Chiu ra-pe Guru. The sword which hangs on the *nusa* fence had been laid on the hearth in the preliminary service in the house. Kamui Fuchi had been asked to let it represent her outside, since she cannot leave the house. It is now flourished by the elder as mandatory of the supreme ancestress. Chiu ra-pe Guru is believed to be thus stimulated to action. The *huttat* switches here, which are held in high esteem, are dipped in water. Before this purification the elder makes prayer to Chiu ra-pe Guru in his capacity as representative of Wakka-ush Kamui. He moves his arm with the sword held vertically, calling out, or rather blowing out, '*fuo!*' or '*fu!*', stretching his arm forward and bending it while continuing his prayer. During the purification he keeps the sword upright, continuing his '*fuo!*' while the officiating women mutter '*fusa!*'. Each woman gives the patient six strokes with her evergreen switch. The patient's outer garment is next removed, shaken and laid aside. Formerly the oldest garment was used and then thrown into the river, but the Ainu are now so poor that even much worn clothes are seldom discarded. The former injunction—'*Ika ami amip use a-ana na*', meaning that the garment shed with the evil magic must not be worn again—is no longer strictly followed.

The patient and the officiating women now wash their faces and pour water on their heads. The water is holy, pervaded by the influence of the good spirit of living waters. Such ceremonial ablution or baptism is thus specially efficacious; water is used ritually on other occasions, such as after childbirth and funerals, as it is elsewhere.

On returning home there is a final ceremony, which I missed, as Isonoash had said that the *uepotara*, by which he meant the ceremony at the river, was ended. Nevertheless it deserves mention. The patient dons the old garment and in it receives a final purification while the spirit guardians of the precincts take action against further invasion. Three backward-shaven *inau* are set up, one each for Ru-koro Kamui, Mintara-koro Kamui and Nusa-koro Kamui. Purification is done at the *inau* of Ru-koro Kamui with an ordinary switch, and then, at the place of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

(*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander restlessly, seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which they have died.

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Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyses of women, are attributed to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead the patient (*arakare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual significance. Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical.

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There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*) purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purification by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram koro*) with good *kamui*.

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There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction. Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted. After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau* dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return from the river.

EXORCISM

•755 782 824 The rite which follows is the tree (*chikuni*) *uepotara*. As performed by Isonoash, three trees are chosen; oaks are preferred but other 'good' trees may be used. The elder prays to the spirits of two trees, each of which is given a backward-shaven *inau* and two bunches of curled shavings. The latter are fixed in the bark of the trees. The invocations are short; in them he intimates that he is about to approach the third tree, regarded as their superior, and solicits their aid in expelling the disembodied spirit. The third tree [778] is given four-winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* and the prayer is more elaborate. The principal spirit is addressed as Shiramba Kamui or Shiri-koro Kamui, but three tree spirits are here distinguished, one of the root, one of the trunk and another of the top branches. These are called respectively Chinosa-yushi, Kohosup-kari and Komkissara-koro guru, the last being the 'possessor of the leafy ears'. The elder then prays directly to Shiramba Kamui on behalf of the sufferer at the soul *nusa* which has been erected under the tree. On the fence of this *nusa* a sword has been hung, and switches of *huttat* have been placed on the ground.

755 783 Purification begins at the first tree, where four switches of grass and small branches are lying, two on each side. Two women officiants stand one on each side. The patient is purified with a switch by one woman; goes round the tree where she is purified by the other; returns to her first position and then proceeds to the second tree, where the process is repeated. At the third tree the patient goes round six times, being purified by one of the women [778] at each half round. Finally, at the soul *nusa*, she is purified with a switch of bamboo grass, the elder finishing by flourishing the sword [824] which has been hanging there in readiness.

755 783 778 On returning to the precincts of the house, the patient is taken near the privy. The two women take some of the millet stalks, or the fishbones, in their hands, and stroke the patient with them down the front. The idea is to entice the disembodied spirit to come out; there is also some idea of expulsion as the women make the usual *fusa fusa* sound.

Between the privy and the place of Mintara-koro Kamui have been set up six sets of evil *inau* with their leader, just as in the river *uepotara*, except that they are made of alder instead of elder. At each of these sets the patient is purified by the two women with ordinary switches. Before moving to the next set the women each pull up two *inau* and with one in each hand make the *fusa fusa*

EXORCISM

sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification.

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described.

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also.

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort.

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer practised,

EXORCISM

practised. Spitting blood has long been recognized as associated with consumption (*satpe tashum*, withering sickness) and is treated as a visitation by evil spirits. One kind of exorcism, performed at the river, is similar to that described for Pauchi Kamui, except that in place of six burning arches there are six tiny boats made of *kuttara*, and at each purification at the *inau* the patient spits into one of the boats; a small stone is placed in it and it is then set afloat in the river. At the tree *uepotara* for the same disease six pieces of bark are taken from the third tree and at each circumambulation of the tree sputum is coughed or spat on to one of the pieces, all of which are buried at the foot of the tree.

Various afflictions attributed to possession by hostile animals are treated by similar methods. Eye troubles, severe headaches, neuralgias, functional paralyses and joint affections are often thought to be caused by them. I have personally investigated eleven cases of such afflictions which had been cured or greatly relieved by magico-religious operations performed by various elders. An important feature is that there is not only exorcism but the replacement of the hostile spirit by the helpful Kinashut Kamui. When one of these suffering women recalls having seen a snake alive or dead, or dreams of snakes, she is convinced that the cause of her trouble is possession by a cantankerous snake spirit. Ainu women know that Kinashut Kamui, spirit chief of the snake tribe, can control and expel errant members of his kind, and that in the condition known as *imu* he supplants the evil-doer.[1] The condition is characterized by emotional outbursts, by the immediate imitation of sounds and actions, and by a tendency to say or do the opposite of anything asserted or requested by another person. This reversion to infantile mentality is quite transitory. Appearing when the woman is startled, or frightened by some reference to a snake or to the caterpillar *ashtoma ikombap*, it usually ends with a smile and a hand placed over the lips. Otherwise the woman is a normal housewife and mother and not less intelligent than other women. On the whole, the *imu* state is a source of amusement rather than otherwise, and it may be that some women vie with others in posing as *imu*. For treatment of *imu* the elder makes an image of a snake out of curled shavings and, after appealing to Kamui Fuchi, invokes into it the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui at the chaff-thrown *nusa*. He places it round the neck of the patient and brings down

[1] See Appendix, pp. 161, 2, 3.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

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There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

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In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

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A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

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[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.

[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

of the solicitude of Kamui Fuchi. The two officiating women have a bracelet of curled shavings on each arm; these are also worn in other exorcisms.

The ceremony begins with a long prayer, in which flattering allusions are made to the brave hornet, but Nusa-koro Kamui is asked to persuade it to cease tormenting the patient. The hope is expressed that the hornet *kamui* may become of one heart and mind with Nusa-koro Kamui. A proper home has been provided for him and he should be asked to stay there. A backward-shaven *inau* is also offered to Shiramba Kamui at his soul *nusa*, but no prayer is said to him. The women each take a small quantity of the grain in each hand and gently stroke each side of the patient from the shoulder down. This is done three times, the grain which the women retain in their hands being deposited at the *nusa* after each stroking. Then follows purification with the switches of curled shavings, repeated three times by each woman. The nest is now passed six times round the patient's neck to entice the hornet spirit to enter it; it is then hung up again at the *nusa* and Nusa-koro Kamui is thanked for his help and hospitality. On returning home the patient is purified in the usual way; she also washes her hands and head. In the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui the officiants did this also, but now they do not.

Some women claim to be possessed by the spirit of a hornet; they are converted sufferers from functional ailments. One respected medium in Nibutani is proud of her hornet guide. Kotan-pira Ekashi told me that there is an old belief in benign as well as harmful possession by the hornet *kamui*.

In this district Kinashut Kamui is called upon at the chaff-thrown *nusa* to protect the community from evil or mischievous spirits. In this capacity he is, like Nusa-koro Kamui, addressed as spirit guardian of the village (Kotan-epungine Kamui). Twice when typhoid was raging in neighbouring villages he was invoked and his effigy was placed in the highway approaching the village; this proceeding was considered highly efficacious. His image in snake form, made not from curled shavings, as described above, but from grass, is still used for the treatment and prevention of disease in the house and to protect women in childbirth. As protector of the granary, where snakes kill the rats, he is known as Pu-epungine Kamui.

I have examined about twenty kinds of magic to protect women

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

in childbirth, and there are doubtless more. The following typical methods are practised. A second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and there Uari Kamui takes charge on behalf of Kamui Fuchi, for the purity of the latter must not be sullied, however deep her concern. The 'important' *kamui* are invoked and supplicated, especially Wakka-ush Kamui. Should there be any sign of difficulty Kinashut Kamui is summoned and then the mortar with its pestle is requisitioned. Having been washed and ritually purified at the seat of Ru-koro Kamui it is tilted to and fro so that it moves into the house, all the time being rhythmically beaten with the pestle. This rhythm is continued by the side of the patient and the pestle is waved above her head and over her body to drive away evil spirits. As the hours pass without bringing relief, the remedies become more desperate. One is to summon the spirit of a fresh-water crab and to urge it to save the mother's life by extracting the baby with its 'metal' claws, even if the baby has to die. The last resource is to give her the urine of her husband to drink or some diluted excrement from the privy. The elder who prepares it must taste it first. It makes her vomit and so ejects the evil spirit.

755 844 [354] [782] [825] [237]

VARIOUS RITES

776 224 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was, [782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an [845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the [755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 272 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 796 782 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed ritually.

784 263 192 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

Hunting the Swordfish

226 The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be- [477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 782 789 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

278
[776] and is also called Iso-uk Kamui (game-taking) and Kamui Pase Guru (potent person). But Iso-sange Mat (game bringing-down female) is a title of Hash-inau-uk Kamui as goddess of the chase; I am told that this title is not used in prayer.

[184] In the Saru district, though aconite grows in the wilds, the favourite source was a stretch of open land near Piratori. When permission had been obtained Kamui Fuchi was besought, and
[221] about the middle of September promising plants were selected. It was said that if they were gathered earlier the millet would not
[782] ripen, and a fine was imposed on the gatherer. At the place of gathering, *inau* of the usual number and kind were set up for Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, who were prayed to for poison of good quality and successful results. The roots were wrapped in mugwort and hung up to dry in the rafters.

757 A kind of swallow-wort, *Cynanchum caudatum*, known as *penup*
● 755 or *ikema*, besides being used to make Penup Kamui, is sometimes taken by sufferers from acute indigestion, whether this is attributed to an attack by Pauchi Kamui or to some material poison. Taken in a large quantity it is said to cause vomiting and diarrhoea, and such elimination may account for its non-lethal results. However, if poisoning is diagnosed, vomiting is encouraged by giving salt, if obtainable, in strong solution, and by a physical treatment that is usually effective. The round wooden mortar is laid on its side and the patient laid across, with his head low, while one person holds him in position and two others roll the mortar to and fro. They keep chanting '*penup tambu, he mawe; he mawe, he ashin*', which means 'pluck out *penup*; magic, go outside'. In cases of aconite poisoning the treatment is similar but more desperate in one
[782] respect. In both, Kamui Fuchi is asked to bless the treatment, but in this case Ru-koro Kamui is invoked, the patient is taken to the hearth and is compelled to swallow a mixture of water and faeces after the elder has tasted it (or pretended to). This is said to be a good emetic, which is likely enough. The patient is also rolled on the mortar, the formula being '*Topochi Kamui, he mawe, he ashin*'. *Topochi* has various meanings, but here it means aconite poison. It is said that some renowned *ekashi* had been able to eat aconite with impunity.

[776] the solicitation of Monorushi Kamui, and he supervised on the spot all collec-
[278] tion of aconite. Each aconite plant was believed to be an incarnation of Suruk Kamui.—H.W. (Watanabe, *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 262.)

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there. Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle. . . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred. . . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much exaggerated.

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self-control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . .

Imu. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis common among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and compulsive actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fuchi has been invoked, the snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui. In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3). When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it

APPENDIX 1

158 continued to occur intermittently. There are certain advantages in being recognized as an *imu*; there is a camaraderie among *imu* women, and both adults and children are encouraged to laugh at them.

158 791 The transmutation of a neurosis to *tusu* is somewhat similar. The evil spirit will be drawn out of her body by purification, and a good spirit will remain her guardian and her spirit guide when she is called [775 upon to act as medium. This is often Kinashut Kamui, or it may be a [825 'good fox' or a 'repulsive caterpillar', or a hornet, but it is never that of a deceased person as is commonly the case in Europe.—B.Z.S.

● 755 158 782 539 791 Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kamui Fuchi before invoking Kinashut Kamui, to procure transmutation of an incapacitating or distressing neurosis to *Imu*

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, concerning the health of this Ainu woman, she has been ardently desired by an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui who has enwrapped her body in the toils of his evil magic. If the *imu* talk can issue from her mouth and purification be done upon her, she shall be free to recover. Although she has severe sickness upon her and difficult trouble within, it can be disentangled and driven out from this Ainu woman, since Kinashut Kamui is exceedingly quick to hear an appeal. A messenger of Kamui Fuchi with *inau* can bear the message to Kinashut Kamui. Although there are very numerous relatives of Kinashut Kamui, he can discern the wrongdoer.

Doing *imu* talk through her mouth [as mouthpiece of Kinashut Kamui], being inspired to a flow of chatter by Kinashut Kamui, many children will be amused and will laugh aloud with great outbursts of laughter, Kinashut Kamui will probably be delighted [to hear the merriment].

This Ainu woman—her body fully cleared by sweeping away [the evil influence]—please give strength to her arms that she may work well in the fields. Make Kinashut Kamui to hear by messenger that a *kamui* – an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui—making a great quarrel, with virulent power has tied up the Ainu person in the toils of evil magic. Doing purification from above, Kinashut Kamui by his *kamui takusa* may sweep away from the Ainu person [the evil magic]. Nusa-koro Kamui can use his *kamui takusa* through his dependent relatives [inferior relations]. Kinashut Tono [chief] by his own *takusa*, Nusa-koro Kamui through the *takusa* of his assistant deities, by their mutual magic force, by their united strength of arms this Ainu woman may have exorcising purification. That the Ainu person may recover through the united minds of the *kamui* and the brushing away [of evil magic] this is besought.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

755 ●
158
782
539
791

Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kinashut Kamui for *imu* transmutation from incapacitating or distressing neurosis

(This is preceded by the *innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi and a very similar one to Nusa-koro Kamui which, however, conveys the request that he—Nusa-koro Kamui—will persuade Kinashut Kamui to obey the behest of Kamui Fuchi and counteract the evil done by his unruly lower relative, usually a snake of some kind. After this, Kinashut Kamui is directly invoked)—

Kinashut Tono [chief of the snakes] will probably have heard the message of Kamui Fuchi. Nusa-koro Kamui, listening to this invocation will probably turn his head this way [pay attention]. This Ainu woman, incontinently desired by your lower relative, has had evil magic put upon her, binding her body. Now as regards this wicked magic, after purification the *imu* talk will issue from the Ainu mouth. Prepare to remove the evil influence from the Ainu person. Kamui Fuchi will probably be thankful.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi before calling Kinashut Kamui, for transmutation to *tusu* in case of a severe neurosis where *imu* could not be obtained by the correct rite

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, the life of this Ainu woman has been incontinently sought by a lower relative of Kinashut Kamui. Hence the body of this Ainu woman has been bound up in the magic toils of an ill-tempered *kinashut*. Having applied purification throughout, *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If she has that speech, please look at the divine treasure in the Ainu [her] hand, for with the *inau*, the *kike chinoye inau*, she makes the woman's thankful gesture [*korai-mik*]. She will probably be joyful in her heart that the Ainu body may probably improve in health.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kinashut Kamui for transmutation to *tusu* when the *ekashi* has failed to induce the preferable *imu*

Kinashut Tono, it seems that one of your many lower relations seeks incontinently to possess the body of this Ainu woman, because he has tied up her whole body till now with evil magic. Kinashut Tono can discover among his own relations the evilly disposed one. Purification completed, the Ainu body having recovered, afterwards *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If so, the Ainu master [of her home] will be thankful. With *chinoye inau kike*, this Ainu woman with *tusu* tongue and upraising hands will reverently make offering, giving thanks to Kinashut Kamui as guardian of her life. Accordingly, you are entreated to give commands to your inferior relatives.

APPENDIX I

A Series of Fourteen Invocations

782
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This series of invocations deals with appeals for help to the *kamui* in difficult or protracted labour, and presumably, when the help is granted and the child is born, the series need not be completed. No. 3 of the series is missing. It is an invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui asking him to tell Kinashut Kamui to expel the *wen kamui* obstructing the passage of the child.

It will be noted that the first in the series is to Kamui Fuchi; she cannot come in contact with the impurity of birth, so she is told that her assistant Uari Kamui is anxious, and she is asked to summon, in due course, all the other *kamui* who can help. She is told that the gifts of offerings [*inau*] should surely stir them to action. They must drive away the evil *kamui*. The second in the series invokes Uari Kamui directly. The method of calling an important *kamui* first, and then his assistant, is repeated in the case of Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui [Nos. 3 and 4], and again when 'the spider' Ashke Tanne Mat is called [Nos. 10 and 11]. In No. 12 Wakka-ush Kamui is called before the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, is invoked.

782
845
539
755
776

1. *Innono itak (invocations, lit. 'prayer-talk') to Kamui Fuchi*

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, as this is a painful and difficult labour Uari Kamui is disturbed and anxious. Please send a message in haste to your higher and lower assistants in their proper order. The gift of *inau* with the message to *kamui* of courage and feeling will surely rouse them to activity [lit. 'wake them up']. Usually the pains are gentle and easy. But when any evil spirit [*wen kamui*], full of malice, puts on his wicked magic, labour continues difficult. With your spirit helpers, the brave *kamui* Mintara-ush Guru and the brave *kamui* Ru-koro Kamui [gods of the precincts and the privy, respectively], whoever these *wen kamui* [evil spirits] may be; with these brave *kamui* [spirit-helpers, right arms striking] in turn, it is as if the others [evil spirits] are not. Humbly, with diffidence in the presence of Iresu Kamui, they can save the Ainu person by means of their *takusa* [purification switches]. With *takusa etiu*, by the ends of the *takusa*, any *wen kamui* can be utterly swept away. You are besought to give your orders [to act].

2. *Invocation to Uari Kamui*

Uari Kamui, this painful and difficult [labour, understood] indeed makes this young woman fearful. Since this sudden anxiety is known to Iresu Kamui [Kamui Fuchi] she probably exhorts you in this matter to act without delay, to take the baby from the womb gently and safely and hold [preserve it]. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX I

4. *Invocation to Kinashut Kamui*

Surpassingly swift Thinker, Chief Kinashut! Therefore are you sitting with Nusa-koro Kamui, to the west of his place [actually to the north-west]. Inside [the house], near to Kamui Fuchi, the childbirth goes on with difficulty. Uari Kamui, surprised and anxious, sends a message for you to do something. Kamui Fuchi sends a servant to say what I am telling you. Give attention to this. Kamui *takusa* will help the suffering Ainu. Uncoiling from above downwards with your *kamui takusa* on the suffering Ainu and blowing away [hissing] you do *epiru* [exorcism by sweeping]. Afterwards will follow easy labour and delivery from the womb. Iresu Kamui will probably tender thanks.

5. *Invocation to Apa-sam Kamui*

Beside the door of the house of Iresu Kamui, Protecting Person, Echiririkek[1] Person, Brave Deity with that name! Nearby there is suffering from the evil magic put on by some *wen kamui* whereby labour continues to be difficult. Even if hiding in the earth, you can search it out, and, from the earth, with Mintara-ush Guru [deity of the precincts] can take hold of it in both arms and both sweep it away and punish it for evil doing. Afterwards Shtoruruke[2] Mat, Kamui Katkimat and your younger sister, holding her spirit *takusa* in both hands [one in each hand] will utterly sweep away from inside the home of Iresu Kamui, with the ends of the *takusa*, the rancorous *kamui*. Tell Mintara-ush Guru [outside] also to grip and punish it. Then afterwards the childbirth will go on gently and easily. Uari Kamui will receive from the womb, and hold, the baby. Iresu Kamui will probably accord thanks.

6. *Invocation to Mintara-koro Kamui or Mintara-ush Guru*

Near Iresu Kamui there is inside [the house] painful and difficult labour. Iresu Kamui being anxious about this thing selects out of many *Tunchi* [assistants or spirit-helpers] Mintara-ush Guru. To make known the tidings Iresu Kamui sends her messenger. Humbly attending to that, with *kamui takusa* held in both hands, in the presence of Iresu Kamui, you may save the Ainu person, and with *takusa* sweep away the ill-disposed *kamui* [*pito*], clearing it away by the ends of the *takusa*. Later on there will be good childbirth. Uari Kamui with both hands

[1] *Echiririkek* implies that as water trickling down finds its way, so, my informants surmise, the name implies searching out. But this is only a plausible interpretation. The word is a proper name in this place.—N.G.M.

[2] This is a proper name for which my informants can find no meaning. The nearest dictionary interpretation that I get near to is Great-heap. Another: *Shtoruruke* also refers to the water in which the *shto* or cakes have been boiled for the Bear Festival.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

R2
845
539
755
776

delivering the child [taking the child from the womb] Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

7. *Invocation to Ru-koro Kamui*

Ru-koro Kamui, inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. Therefore, Mintara-ush Guru, informed of the trouble and being near, asks Ru-koro Kamui to rise and help alongside of Iresu Kamui. Mintara-koro Kamui bears a message about this affair asking urgently that you take in your hands the *kamui takusa* and do *takusa etiu* upon the suffering Ainu. Rancorous *kamui* can be swept out by the ends of the *takusa*, and any evil *kamui* whatsoever, at last there will be an easy birth. Iresu Kamui will probably bestow thanks.

8. *Invocation to Nishu Fuchi (Ancestress of the Mortar)*

Nishu Fuchi, though you be called *Kotan korisme* [village dancer], you are Kamui Katkimat. Chief one of many agents of Iresu Kamui, you are about the same age and were brought up together . . . appearing as *Kotan korimse* you are Kamui Katkimat. Because within the home there is painfully difficult labour, Uari Kamui is startled and anxious at the side [of the patient]. Upon the suffering Ainu from head to feet, if, with the magic force of your outstretched arms, you thrust the spear-shadow rapidly to and fro, any *wen kamui* rancorously putting evil magic upon the Ainu will be annihilated [reduced to powder] by your magic thrust. Afterwards there will be a good childbirth. Uari Kamui, close by [the patient and child], will give protection. Iresu Kamui will surely be gladly thankful.

9. *Invocation to Soko-ni Fuchi (Elder Tree Ancestress)*

Soko-ni Fuchi, [existing] from the most ancient times of Ainu Land! In this way Soko-ni Fuchi is near to Kamui Fuchi in a house where there is difficult labour. On this account Uari Kamui is very anxious and makes haste to tell the trouble. Alongside of Mintara-koro Kamui, Soko-ni Fuchi holds in her hands her *kamui* [spirit] *takusa* and together with Iresu Kamui will save the suffering Ainu by blowing away [the trouble] and sweeping it away altogether by the *takusa*. Thus the rancorous *kamui* shall be entirely ousted, and with easy labour the child be born. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

10. *Invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui to order Ashke Tanne Mat, the long-fingered woman, to lend assistance. She is the Spider* kamui, *and midwife to all Ainu women*

Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. There is fresh news of great

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782
845
539
755
276

anxiety in this matter. Over and above these standing *inau* is something more [than the favour previously asked]. The message of Iresu Kamui has probably been heard that you grant your spirit helper Ashke Tanne Mat to save [the suffering woman]. Uari Kamui alongside adjures you to protect. Please vouchsafe this.

11. *This invocation is made directly to Ashke Tanne Mat. Like Kinashut Kamui, she is a dependant or assistant to Nusa-koro Kamui*

Ashke Tanne Mat [Long Fingered Female] Kamui Katkimat! Inside, near Iresu Kamui, is a difficult childbirth. Uari Kamui, anxious for this reason, hastens to make it known to Nusa-koro Kamui, who hearing it will probably tell what she says. Together with Uari Kamui you can help to save. Protecting close together there will be a gentle and easy delivery of the child from inside, with near at hand defence [against evil *kamui*]. Iresu Kamui will probably give thanks.

12. *Invocation to Wakka-ush Kamui to demand aid from the* kamui *of the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, the long-nailed woman*

Wakka-ush Kamui, Kamui Pase Guru! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painfully difficult labour. Uari Kamui has much anxiety. Wakka-ush Kamui is asked, together with [offerings of] *inau*, to attend to it. Condescend to command the divine agent [or assistant] Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat, to help.

13. *Invocation made directly to Ami Tanne Mat*

Agent of Wakka-ush Kamui [the god of fresh waters] Ami Tanne Mat! [long-nailed female]. Near Iresu Kamui there is certainly suffering and difficult labour. This being so, Uari Kamui is most anxious about it and has surely sent the tidings to Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat. Previously, your Chief, Wakka-ush Kamui, has had the message. His command you have probably heard, to take immediately your magic hook of iron in both hands. [This probably means to do the best with it.] Alongside [the patient] Uari Kamui is unable to save the baby in the womb. As to this, if it dies it must die. Uari Kamui being unable has therefore told Kamui Katkimat. Even if the baby dies in the womb, the suffering Ainu, at any rate, has only one soul-possessing body. Uari Kamui, near at hand, asks you to protect.

14. *This invocation to Honpusa, the penis, is a last resort*

This Honpusa, soul-bearing Kamui! From inside myself and from the womb there should be a baby. Gently and easily Uari Kamui should receive and hold it safely. An evil *kamui*, working mischief in an Ainu belly, makes labour continue to be difficult. Urgently needed, your

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX 1

782
845
539
755
776

medicine [his urine] will clear from above down the belly of the suffering Ainu. If it is drunk, it will clear from above downwards any evil *kamui* from the belly and drive it forth. After delivery of the baby Uari Kamui shall receive it and will probably be very happy.

/764 cont./

844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is [895] only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the fifth day after the first pains.

844 789 769 The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the be- [842] yond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same con- [895] ditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Ainu! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people, how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has weathered its journey safely.

844 The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who [864] know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man. —

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 778 782 789 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the [776] gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below [755] the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
798 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman).
[842] I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
776 Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

/774 cont./

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Men who undertake long hunting expeditions almost always have a piece of such an apron with them, which also serves as a remedy for pains. In the latter case they moisten it and rub the sick spot with it.

All this points to the fact that among the Ainu there are still strong traces of the times when the woman played the principal part in the life of the family and of the man.